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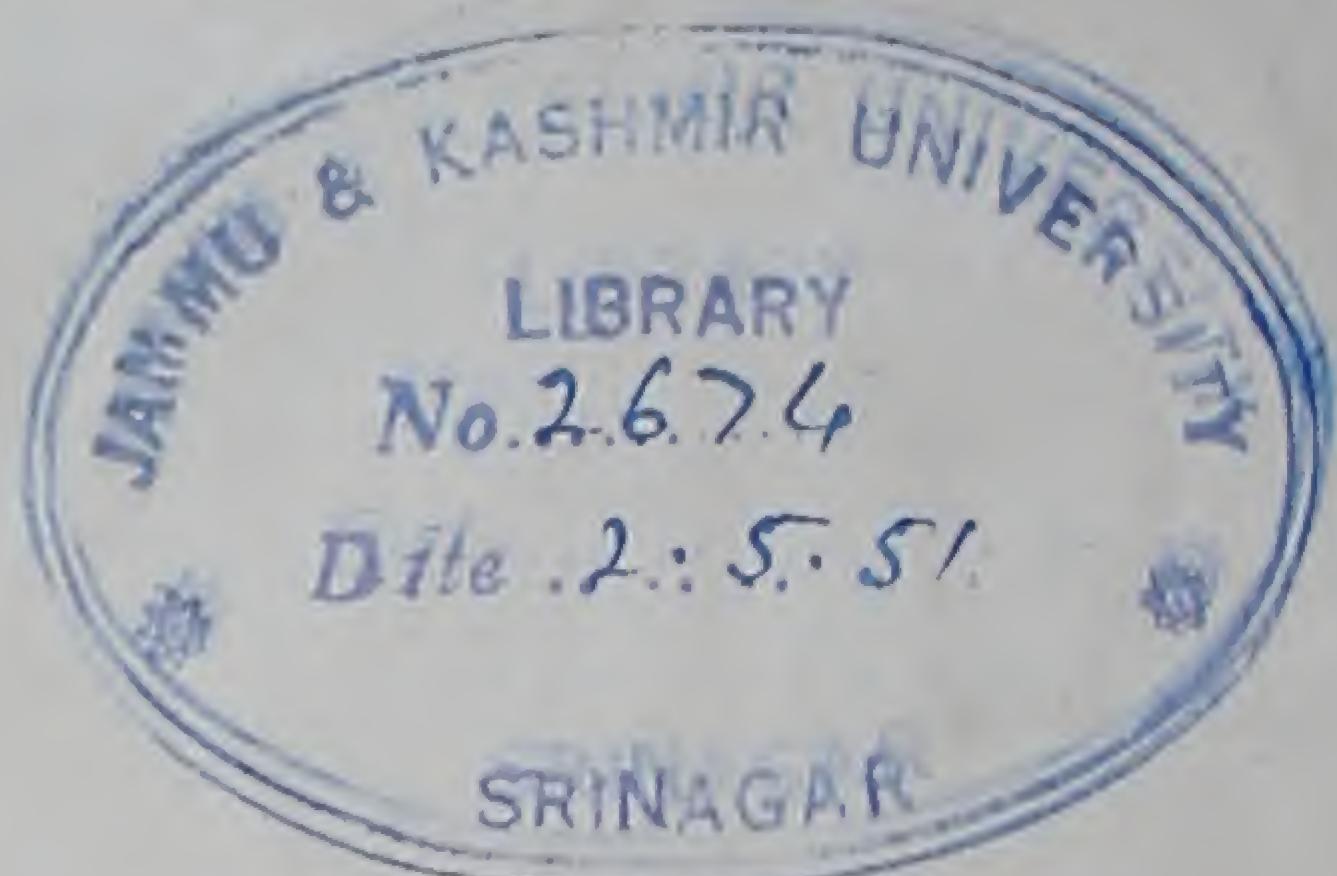
STALIN'S POLICY OF PEACE AND DEMOCRACY



V. M. MOLOTOV

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of
PEACE and DEMOCRACY

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V. M. MOLOTOV'S SPEECH

*delivered on November 6, 1948 in Moscow
on the occasion of the 31st Anniversary
of the Great October Socialist Revolution*



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The following is the text of U. M. Molotov's speech at the celebration meeting of the Moscow Soviet on November 6, 1948, on the occasion of the 31st Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution:

COMRADES, we are today celebrating the 31st Anniversary of the Socialist Revolution in our country.

The working people of the Soviet Union meet this Anniversary of the Great October Revolution with a glorious record of victories achieved in the third and decisive year of the post-war Five-Year Plan. Socialist emulation is spreading and developing among the working class, the collective farm peasantry and the Soviet intelligentsia, multiplying from day to day the achievements of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. in the work of building Communism.

The constructive efforts of the Soviet people are concentrated on the realisation of the great plans for the advancement of industry and agriculture, plans of a scale and significance hitherto unprecedented. The economic might of the Soviet Union is growing and the material welfare of our people steadily rising before our eyes. Friendship among the peoples of the U.S.S.R. grows firmer and firmer, inspired by Soviet patriotism and infused with unbounded confidence in and love for the Stalin leadership of our country.

The October Revolution marked the beginning of the collapse of the capitalist system, but for nearly three decades the Soviet Union was the sole Socialist country.

Since the Second World War there fell away from capitalism some European countries as Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Albania and Yugoslavia. In the dependent and colonial countries the movement for national liberation is making giant strides.

In spite of all obstacles the democratic forces are growing and becoming tempered in the struggle against the forces of reaction in the capitalist countries. The international prestige of the U.S.S.R. is continuously growing as the main bulwark of the democratic and anti-imperialist camp opposed to the camp of imperialism and aggression.

Under the great banner of Lenin and Stalin our people are marching forward, looking back with satisfaction on the past years of heroic struggle and glorious victories and full of confidence in their future.

1. A NEW UPSURGE

All efforts of our people since the victorious conclusion of the Great Patriotic War are guided by the well-known directing principles outlined by Comrade Stalin:

"Having terminated the war with victory over the enemies, the Soviet Union has entered a new, peaceful period in its economic development.

"At the present time the Soviet people are confronted with the task of advancing further ahead to a new economic upsurge after having consolidated the positions gained. We cannot limit ourselves to consolidating these positions for that would lead to stagnation—we must advance further ahead in order to create the conditions for a new powerful upsurge in the national economy. In the shortest possible time we must heal the wounds inflicted on our country by the enemy and restore the pre-war level of development of the national economy in order considerably to surpass this level in the nearest future, raise the material well-being of the people and still further strengthen the military and economic might of the Soviet State."

Everyone can now see that the Soviet people are successfully carrying out this Stalin programme of firmly consolidating the positions won and marching forward to a new economic upsurge. Whereas the programme of the first year of the post-war Five-Year Plan was not completely fulfilled, since in the first year after the war much effort was spent on the reconversion of industry from a war to a peace footing, and also because of the additional difficulties which arose in connection with the drought and crop failure of 1946, already in the second year of the Five-Year Plan the position improved along the whole economic front.

In 1947 our industry not only fulfilled but considerably exceeded its annual programme. The effect of this was that the combined programmes of the first two years of the post-war Five-Year Plan were completely fulfilled. It must be reckoned as a great achievement of the Soviet people that already by the end of last year our industrial output had reached the level of the pre-war year of 1940.

Under these circumstances the present, third year is of decisive importance for the fulfilment of the post-war Five-Year Plan. On the success of our efforts, on the efforts of the Party organisations, the trade unions and the Young Communist League depends the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan as a whole and, what is especially important, the possibility of fulfilling it ahead of schedule. And we know that the idea of fulfilling the Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule has taken a deep hold on the minds of the working class.

Last year the working men and women of Leningrad addressed an appeal to the working men and women of the whole country to fulfil the Five-Year Plan in four years. This appeal met with the broadest response. Thanks to our efforts, in the first quarter

of this year the usual decline of industrial output as compared with the last months of the previous year was not in evidence. This year our industry is steadily over-fulfilling its programmes from quarter to quarter.

In the first nine months the gross output of industry showed an increase of 27 per cent. as against the corresponding period of last year. This fact alone indicates how rapidly the post-war rehabilitation and economic progress of our country is proceeding. This is also borne out by the fact that in the current year industrial output is proceeding at a level 17 per cent. higher than that of the pre-war year 1940.

Together with the recovery and growth of industry the material prosperity of the working class is also rising. This year the aggregate pay-roll of factory and office workers is nearly double that of 1940. The building of houses, schools, hospitals, rest homes and cultural institutions is proceeding on a broad scale.

The programme of improvement of the living and working conditions of the working people adopted in the Five-Year Plan is being effectively realised. Of course, we shall not rest content with the successes achieved. Nor shall we forget that a number of branches of heavy and light industry, where the aftermath of the destructive effects of the war period are still being felt, have not yet attained the pre-war level and that not infrequently the due effort is not being made to improve the quality of industrial output.

Nevertheless the achievements already made, enable us to accelerate the progress of the backward branches of industry and to ensure the fulfilment of the post-war Five-Year Plan for industry ahead of schedule. The Party calls on us to advance, to organise still better and to develop the systematic struggle in the factories and collective farms for the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan in four years.

In the Soviet Union we witness a general and steady expansion of industry directed by the Socialist State. Now the people's democracies have also embarked on a similar course. But this cannot be said of the capitalist countries although they suffered immeasurably less from the war than the U.S.S.R. and the countries of the new democracy.

In the United States industrial output is not even 80 per cent. of the level of 1943 when, nourished by enormous war contracts, it reached its peak. In spite of this, the profits of the American corporations continue to grow. Whereas in 1939 they amounted to 6,400 million dollars and at the height of the war they exceeded 24,000 million dollars per annum, last year the profits of the American monopolies reached nearly 30,000 million dollars.

On the other hand, the wages of the American workers in these past years have been lagging heavily behind the rise of prices, which signifies a considerable deterioration in the condition of the working class. While, according to official reports,

the number of unemployed in the United States barely exceeds two millions, there is much data to show that this is greatly underestimated, the actual figure being at least three times larger; the number of semi-unemployed, those not working a full week, already amounting—even according to official statistics—to over eight millions.

Or take France, where the condition of the working class is in the centre of general attention. The real wages of the French workers, owing to the rising prices of commodities, have in post-war years fallen to one half. It is known from published figures that in the first half of this year the profits of the French capitalists amounted to 43 per cent. of France's total national income, whereas the wages of the workers and office employees comprised only 39 per cent. of the national income. These figures show that the profits of the French capitalists considerably exceed the total wages received by all the workers and office employees of France. Whereas the progress of our industry is entirely based upon our internal resources and on the labour effort of the Soviet people, in the capitalist countries of Europe everything is based on the expectation of receiving credits from "Uncle Sam".

Everybody is familiar with the stir raised in Europe over the "Marshall plan". This plan is advertised as the factor of salvation for the post-war recovery of Europe's economy. To listen to certain British or French statesmen, without American credits under the "Marshall plan" economic recovery in the European countries would seem to be impossible.

However, the American dollars which floated this year into the pockets of the European capitalists under the United States credit plan did not produce any real revival of industry in the countries of capitalist Europe. And they cannot produce that revival, since the American credits are not being given in order to restore and expand the industries of the European countries which compete with the United States but in order to provide a wider market for American goods in Europe and to place these countries in economic and political dependence on the capitalist monopolies which dominate the United States and their aggressive plans, in disregard of the interests of the European peoples themselves.

In contradistinction to this, the post-war recovery and expansion of industry in the U.S.S.R. is not dependent upon any capitalist country and entirely serves to satisfy the needs of its own people. Both industry and agriculture in the Soviet Union have entered a period of new and powerful upsurge.

Here are a few facts. This year the gross grain harvest has already reached the level of the pre-war year 1940. We achieved this in spite of the fact that the crop area has not yet attained the pre-war level and that the heavy loss of tractors and agricultural machines sustained in the period of enemy occu-

pation has not yet been repaired in agriculture. All the greater is the significance of the fact that thanks to more efficient use of available machines and a considerable improvement in the organisation of the labour of the men and women collective farmers, the grain yield this year exceeded that of the pre-war year 1940.

We are now fully aware that our principal task in agriculture is to achieve a further increase in the yield of grain and other agricultural crops. Everybody knows how successful the grain deliveries were this year. This is something to which our Government has always attached the greatest importance.

The emulation which is developing between region and region, district and district, as well as between Republic and Republic, has yielded valuable results. You know of this from the numerous letters addressed to Comrade Stalin which have been published in our press.

In spite of the drought which afflicted a large part of the Volga area, the fulfilment of the grain deliveries plan this year is successfully nearing completion. A whole number of regions and territories have delivered to the State far more grain this year than last year and more than they did in pre-war years.

Suffice it to say that in the Ukraine 131 million poods (2,096,000 tons) more grain were delivered this year than last year, in the Northern Caucasus the excess was 77 million poods (1,232,000 tons) and in Siberia it was 40 million poods (656,000 tons). Now not only is the current supply of the population with bread fully ensured, but the necessary Government stocks have been built up for the future.

With a view to accelerating the further progress of agriculture—the production of cereals, cotton, beet and other crops—as well as with a view to creating a fodder base for the all-round advancement of animal husbandry, the State is initiating broad measures for advancing farming methods to a higher level in the collective farms and State farms, for the supply of chemical fertilisers and all necessary machines.

With the support of the State the collective farms will now be in a position to advance all branches of collective stock-breeding and at the same time increase the productivity of the latter. This year the farms will receive from the State three times as many tractors, twice as many motor lorries and twice as many agricultural machines as in the pre-war year 1940.

The State is continuously initiating new measures for the all-round extension of the technical facilities of agriculture, for lightening the labour of the collective farmers and for increasing the productivity of their labour. This year emulation in the collective and State farms attained especially wide dimensions, for which our Party organisations primarily deserve the credit. At the same time the collective farms have begun more effectively to combat idlers and disorganisers of the collective labour,

and this will contribute to a further improvement of the organisation of collective farm production and to the growing prosperity of the collective farmers.

Last year's decision of the Government to award decorations for outstanding achievements in agriculture was a powerful stimulus to the development of Socialist emulation in the countryside. We now have thousands of Heroes of Socialist Labour in the collective farms and among State farm workers. Tens of thousands of men and women of the collective farms have been awarded Orders and medals for big achievements in agriculture. This year it has been decided to raise the standard of requirements in future for gaining Government awards for achievements in agriculture and stock-breeding and in mastering agricultural technique.

It need not be doubted that this year the number of recipients of decorations will not diminish but, on the contrary, will greatly increase. This is indicated by the scope of emulation and the growing labour enthusiasm on the collective farms.

Only a few days ago a decision of the Party and Government was published, adopted on the initiative of Comrade Stalin, introducing a plan for the planting of protective forest belts, the development of grass-arable crop rotation and the building of ponds and reservoirs for the purpose of ensuring big and stable yields in the steppe and forest-steppe areas of the European part of the U.S.S.R. The objective envisaged is to utilise the great practical experience and achievements of agricultural science so that the collective farms and State farms of the steppe and forest-steppe districts, equipped with advanced techniques, may in the next few years make a big spurt in the further development of agriculture and animal husbandry.

Particular importance is attached to the development of grass-arable crop rotation and to the large-scale planting of forest belts for the protection of fields. The realisation of this majestic State plan, the adoption of which has declared war on drought and crop failure in the steppe and forest-steppe regions of the European part of our country, will lead our agriculture on to the highroad of big and stable harvests, will render the labour of the collective farmers highly productive and will greatly enhance the economic might of the Soviet Union. Our confidence in achieving this historic plan of great works is evidence of the speed with which our forces, our successes and our possibilities are growing when we follow the path indicated by the Communist Party and the great Stalin.

In view of the fact that the task of directing the national economy has become more complicated we are faced with new problems in the field of State planning, the organisation of the supply of materials and the development of advanced techniques in all branches of economy. In the field of economic planning special importance now attaches to the work of co-ordinating

and expediting the development of the various branches of production.

As you know, the plans of production and construction are now drawn up for plants on the basis of progressive technico-economic norms of utilisation of equipment and materials, which helps to accelerate the progress of industry, transport and other branches of the national economy. The purpose of control over the way the plans are being fulfilled is not simply to ensure the total planned volume of gross output but also, and as an essential requirement, the fulfilment of programmes in respect of the main assortment of goods and of the improvement of the quality of the product.

On the proper organisation of the supply of materials, the creation of the necessary stocks of materials and the economical utilisation of the State resources largely depends the speed of development of our economy. In view of the present vast scope of production and construction, the efficient organisation of supply and control, to ensure that the established norms of expenditure of materials are observed, is of paramount importance to the State. The accelerated mechanisation of processes requiring great expenditure of labour and the introduction of up-to-date techniques in all branches of industry, transport and agriculture have always been considered a most important task of the Communist Party.

Comrade Stalin has said in connection with our post-war objectives that ". . . . mechanisation of the labour processes is for us that new and decisive force without which it will be impossible to maintain our tempo nor the new scale of production." Our potentialities in this respect have grown immensely. The industries of the Soviet Union can now produce any machine and the scale of machine-building has, moreover, already far surpassed the pre-war scale. The number of machine-tools in our country has greatly increased compared with 1940 and within a short period may be increased still further. The systematic introduction of up-to-date techniques in all branches of the national economy is a powerful lever for enhancing the might of the Soviet State.

One highly important measure introduced in our country since the 30th Anniversary of the October Revolution was the currency reform, coupled with the abolition of the rationing system of supplying the population and the establishment of uniform and reduced State prices for manufactured goods and foodstuffs. This decision helped in rapidly eliminating the negative effects of the excessive amount of money in circulation, a heritage of the war period, and created favourable conditions for accelerating the progress of the national economy.

As a result of the reduction of State retail prices for foodstuffs and manufactured goods and the accompanying reduction of prices in co-operative trade and in the collective farm market,

the purchasing power of the ruble was doubled. Thanks to this and also to the growth of money wages, the real wages of workers and office employees have more than doubled compared with last year.

Thus the currency reform and the Government's measures to improve trade have greatly contributed to raising the standard of living of the workers and office employees. These measures were already possible two years after the end of the war in which the Fascist invaders had inflicted untold misery and ruin on our country.

This fact is a demonstration to the world of the vast forces and inherent potentialities of the Soviet State. At the same time, following the abolition of the rationing system, new tasks have arisen in all their urgency in the sphere of Soviet trade both in town and country. Everything must be done to expand the production of consumer goods to the utmost and to improve their quality and assortment and also to improve the service to the consumers by the trading organisations—both State and co-operative. On the other hand, the favourable results of the currency reform can be ensured to the full only if we observe the strictest economy in everything, do not tolerate extravagance and spare Soviet kopeks. Consciousness of the importance of these simple duties has now penetrated the widest sections of the Soviet people.

This year has seen the birth of a new patriotic movement among the working masses—a movement for the mobilisation of internal reserves, for rendering our enterprises profitable and for accumulations in excess of plan. In the first nine months of this year the total of economies in excess of plan resulting from reduction of the cost of industrial products exceeded 4,000 million rubles.

The emulation which has developed in this field permits us to hope that by the end of this year the total of accumulations above plan will have increased by at least $1\frac{1}{2}$ times. Emulation in this field furthermore leads to the better utilisation of machines and of equipment generally at the plants and facilitates better organisation of production, which deserves the encouragement of all our directing bodies. This is a movement which now embraces many thousands of the country's plants and has acquired nation-wide importance thanks to the initiative of the Communist organisation and the working people of our capital, Moscow, which this time too has justified the high appreciation accorded to it by Comrade Stalin when he called it the "standard-bearer of the new Soviet epoch".

We are living at a time when our factory and office workers and the collective farm peasants throughout the country are taking part in Socialist emulation. There are not, and there should not be now, any mills or factories or collective farms

which do not take part in emulation or do not strive to increase the number of those participating in Socialist emulation within the enterprise or collective farm.

"Emulation is a Communist method of building Socialism", Comrade Stalin has said. And now we see that this Communist method of building Socialism has been adopted by the entire mass of the working people of our country. This is an achievement of the October Revolution the value of which cannot be over-rated.

The immortal Lenin said: "Socialism does not extinguish competition; on the contrary, it for the first time creates the opportunity for employing it on a really wide and on a really mass scale, for actually drawing the majority of the population into an arena of labour in which they can display their abilities, develop their capacities, reveal their talents, which are an untapped spring among the people, and which capitalism crushed, suppressed and strangled in thousands and millions. Now that a Socialist government is in power our task is to organise competition."

Lenin further said: "Only now is the opportunity created for the truly mass display of enterprise, competition and bold initiative. Every factory from which the capitalist has been expelled, or in which he has at least been curbed by genuine workers' control, every village from which the landlord exploiter has been smoked out and his land confiscated, is now, and has only now become a field in which the working man can reveal his talents, unbend his back, straighten himself, and feel that he is a human being. For the first time after centuries of working for others, of working in subjection to the exploiter, it has become possible to *work for oneself* and moreover to employ all the achievements of modern technique and culture in one's work."

Lenin wrote these lines in December, 1917, that is more than 30 years ago. Everyone can now see for himself the fundamental and practical significance of the great tenets of Lenin. The scope and profundity of Socialist emulation show that the entire Soviet people has become a closely knit family of working people, regardless of national or religious differences.

The letters and reports addressed to Comrade Stalin, daily published in our newspapers, telling of the labour achievements of factories and collective farms, construction jobs and scientific institutions, districts and cities, whole branches of industry and transport, regions, territories and Soviet Republics—all this testifies that our country has become a closely knit family of nations which displayed its unbreakable solidarity and invincibility in the years of the Patriotic War and is now from day to day, by its participation in the front of labour, demonstrating the growing power of the moral and political unity and the Socialist consciousness of the Soviet people.

In our country all are workers, there are no idlers or parasites,

nor should there be. It is sometimes said abroad that by dislodging these gentry from their snuggeries we acted not quite democratically. But the results have not proved to be bad. Just because we are a State of workers where there is no room for idlers or parasites we today constitute a closely-knit multi-national labouring family and at the same time a strongly organised, mighty and invincible army. Lenin and Stalin teach us not to get swollen heads and not to rest content with what we have achieved. Comrade Stalin incessantly explains the importance of the method of criticism and self-criticism for our progress and for the workers of all ranks without exception.

The work of our organisations on the cultural front is steadily growing in scope and significance. We have 730,000 university students and in addition 270,000 university correspondence course students and over 34 million high school, elementary school and secondary technical school pupils.

Our press and our cultural organisations are carrying on an immense work of scientific education among the masses. Let that capitalist State come forward which would like to vie with the Soviet Union in the field of cultural progress!

We are entitled to be proud of the accomplishments of the Soviet arts and especially of late of the accomplishments of Soviet literature, which is no mean achievement of the guidance and direction of the Party. Our literature, cinema and other arts are being increasingly enriched with productions which by their character reveal the ideological substance of events and the endeavours of the people of the Soviet epoch.

True art appeals to the people and leaves deep traces in their minds, hence the great importance of the present florescence of the Soviet arts for the development of what has been accomplished in the Communist education of the Soviet people. Soviet art penetrates far beyond the borders of our country, telling of our country's life and deeds, which the capitalist press strives to conceal from the workers or to distort in their eyes.

Of great fundamental and practical importance for the promotion of scientific theory was the recent discussion in scientific circles on questions of biology. The discussion on the theory of heredity raised profound and fundamental questions relating to the struggle of genuine science founded on the principles of materialism against reactionary, idealistic survivals in science, such as the Weissman doctrine of the immutability of heredity, which denies that acquired characteristics can be transmitted to offspring.

This discussion stressed the creative significance of materialist principles for all branches of science and this should help to accelerate the progress of scientific theory in our country. We should recall the task set to our scientists by Comrade Stalin, the task of "not only overtaking but outstripping in the nearest future the achievements of science outside our country".

The discussion on biological questions was also of great practical significance, especially for the further advancement of our Socialist agriculture. It is not for nothing that this struggle has been headed by Academician Lysenko whose services in our common effort to promote Socialist agriculture are well-known.

The keynote of this discussion was Michurin's famous motto: "we cannot await favours from nature, we must wrest them from her". This injunction of Michurin's, it may be said, is infused with the Bolshevik spirit and is a call, not only to scientific workers but also to the millions of practical farmers, to engage in active creative work for the benefit and glory of our people.

The scientific discussion on biological questions was conducted under the guiding influence of our Party. Here, too, Comrade Stalin's guiding ideas played a decisive part, opening up new broad vistas in scientific and practical work.

Our country is on a new upgrade. This is borne out by the fervent labour and the improving conditions of the ordinary Soviet people, by the achievements of our scientists and artists and by the accomplishments of Socialist construction, which we observe daily, in which we share each according to his strength and ability, and of which we have the right to be proud.

Only yesterday our enemies were attempting to convert vast areas of our country into a "desert zone", demolishing and destroying everything in their path. We have still not healed many of the wounds of war, have not rebuilt a number of cities, have not built all the buildings and houses we need in order to eliminate the aftermath of the incursion of the Fascist barbarians. But we are conducting this work successfully and are advancing ever more rapidly and confidently, and have already left behind many an achievement of pre-war days.

Great is the progress being made by our country, where the family of Soviet nations is cemented by friendship and common effort for the benefit of the Motherland, displaying examples unparalleled in the history of co-operation and fraternity among the peoples of the multi-national Soviet Union. In the struggle we are united, inspired and led forward by the Bolshevik Party and the great leader of the Soviet people Comrade Stalin.

II. IN THE VANGUARD OF THE STRUGGLE FOR A LASTING DEMOCRATIC PEACE

Four years ago, Comrade Stalin, defining the tasks of the post-war period, said: "To win the war against Germany is to accomplish a great historic task. But to win the war does not in itself mean to ensure for the peoples a lasting peace and guaranteed security in the future. The task is not only to win the war but also to make new aggression and new war impossible—if not for ever, then at least for a long time to come."

In order to assist the effective realisation of these aims the

U.S.S.R. took an active part in the elaboration of a number of international agreements while the Second World War was still on. Everybody will recall how the agreement was worked out between the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Great Britain; to which China and France adhered and which later was taken as a basis for the Charter of the United Nations Organisation.

Of the utmost importance were the agreements between the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain on the German question adopted at Yalta and Potsdam. We also know that the Potsdam decisions defined the general line of the post-war settlement not only in Europe. The special Potsdam Declaration on Japan, together with the Cairo Declaration and the Yalta Agreement, should serve as the basis for the peace settlement in the Far East as well.

It should not be forgotten that these international agreements were sealed with the blood of our peoples, who bore countless sacrifices and made it possible for us victoriously to end the war against Fascism and aggression in Europe and Asia. Since then the Soviet Union has invariably insisted that the obligations undertaken under these agreements must be sacredly adhered to and carried out in practice by all the States. It cannot be said that these obligations have remained only on paper. It is sufficient to recall that the international organisation of the United Nations has been created and is functioning, although attempts are often made to lend a twist to its work which does not correspond to its fundamental purposes. Five peace treaties have been concluded—with Italy, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary and Finland—which are an important contribution to the peace settlement in Europe.

On the other hand, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that the peace treaty with Germany is making no headway. At the same time, in the American, British and French zones of occupation of Germany, which in contravention of the agreements between the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and France have been removed from quadripartite control, people who were prominent under the Fascist regime are being restored to key positions in industry and administration. Moreover, many democratic organisations are deprived of the opportunity of functioning normally, which the Soviet Union considers arbitrary and impermissible.

Nor is the peace treaty with Japan making any headway. Naturally the Soviet Union is insisting that the work of framing the peace treaties for Germany and Japan be expedited, in conformity with what was envisaged in the allied agreements. This means that the framing of the said peace treaties must have as its aim to prevent the resurgence of Germany and Japan as aggressive Powers and, consequently, it must help to

promote the demilitarisation and democratisation of these countries.

In conformity with this, the Soviet Government insists upon the complete disarming of Germany and on the implementation of the well-known plan of international control of the industrial region of the Ruhr as the principal base of Germany's war industry. In conformity with this, too, the Soviet Government insists that war industry be completely banned in Japan and that proper international control be established to prevent the restoration of war industry in that country.

But at the same time the Soviet Government considers that peace industry must not be stifled either in Germany or Japan. Both the German and the Japanese peoples must be given the opportunity to secure everything which their own industries serving peace needs can provide. If we want to be true to the obligations we assumed with regard to the peace settlement with Germany and Japan, this is the course we must follow.

Only those who want endlessly to protract the occupation of Germany and Japan, disregarding the legitimate interests of their peoples, can evade fulfilling the above-mentioned international agreements. That is how matters stand regarding the chief tasks of the post-war peace settlement.

Another major issue in the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. is the struggle against the new forces of aggression and, consequently, against propaganda for a new war and instigators of a new war. With this purpose, as far back as 1946, the Soviet Union submitted to the United Nations Organisation its well-known proposal for a general reduction of armaments and prohibition of the atomic weapon.

In spite of the resistance of the aggressive elements, this proposal was in the main accepted by the United Nations Organisation. Last year the Soviet Union submitted a proposal to the General Assembly for the adoption of measures against war propaganda and instigators of a new war. After all sorts of reservations and limitations had been introduced into our draft, the United Nations Organisation adopted a decision on this matter. The General Assembly's resolution was so thoroughly watered down and so carefully purged that it contained not a word of reference to instigators of a new war. Only in the title of the resolution did there remain any mention that it was aimed against instigators of a new war. Nevertheless, even this resolution is of positive value in the eyes of all honest supporters of international security, since it condemns all forms of propaganda which have the purpose of creating, or are capable of creating or hastening a threat to peace, violation of peace, or act of aggression.

In order that the resolution on reduction of armaments and prohibition of the atomic weapon should not remain a dead letter, the Soviet Union this year made concrete proposals to

develop the said decision of the United Nations Organisation. The Soviet Union proposed a reduction by one-third, within one year, of all the existing armed forces and armaments of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, France and China—the five countries which, as permanent members of the Security Council, bear the chief responsibility for the maintenance of international security. This proposal directly affects only the great Powers and does not apply to the armaments of any other State.

Furthermore, the Soviet Union proposed that the atomic weapon be prohibited as a weapon designed for aggressive purposes and not for purposes of defence. In order to exercise supervision and control to see that the measures for the reduction of armaments and armed forces and the prohibition of the atomic weapon were carried into effect, we proposed that an international control body be set up within the framework of the Security Council to which the United States, Great Britain, the U.S.S.R., France and China would have to submit full official data relative to the state of their armaments and armed forces.

This question was debated in the General Assembly and its committees for over a month. The great Powers resorted to every excuse not to agree to a reduction of their armed forces and armaments, or to the prohibition of the atomic weapon, and secured the passage by the General Assembly of a resolution which suited their wishes. Particularly unfriendly was the reception the representatives of the United States and Great Britain gave to our proposal to prohibit the atomic weapon. They cannot deny the indisputable statement that the atomic bomb is a weapon of aggression and not of defence, that it is designed for the mass destruction of peaceful citizens and chiefly of big cities, and that only Fascist fiends and not representatives of free nations can dream of employing such a weapon.

But those whom Comrade Stalin called obedient "pupils of Churchill in aggression" are seeking every excuse to prevent the prohibition of the criminal atomic weapon. In this connection two major camps of public opinion are becoming more and more clearly defined. In the United States the recently formed Progressive Party headed by Henry Wallace has come out in favour of prohibiting the atomic weapon, as also have quite a number of American scientists and public figures, not to mention the millions of working people whose voice is not reflected in the bought and hired organs of the yellow bourgeois press.

In the summer of last year, in the so-called Working Committee of the Atomic Energy Commission of the Security Council, the majority of the States, including Great Britain, pronounced in favour of destroying atomic bombs although, owing to pressure of the United States, they did not adhere to this position very long. It has long been known that many British

scientists consider the position of the Soviet Union in this matter to be correct.

There can be no doubt that in any country the supporters of prohibition of the atomic weapon constitute the overwhelming majority of the people, although this does not find reflection in the General Assembly.

The more stubbornly the aggressive elements resist the prohibition of the atomic weapon, the wider will become the split between the forces of aggression and imperialism on the one hand, and the forces standing for the promotion of general peace and democracy on the other. From this it follows that the partisans of the atomic weapon will with every day become more and more isolated from world public opinion. From this it follows that, in leading the struggle for the prohibition of the criminal atomic weapon, the Soviet Union stands at the head of all peace-loving nations of all progressive men and women throughout the world.

Before the Second World War the capitalist world was divided into bourgeois democratic countries and Fascist countries. At that time the chief instigators of aggression were the Fascist and militaristic countries—Germany, Italy and Japan, which formed the so-called Anti-Comintern bloc. It was they who started the Second World War, which ended in the ignominious collapse of all Fascists.

Long before the Second World War the Soviet Union called upon all non-aggressive countries to unite in order to resist Fascist aggression and always condemned deals by individual great Powers with aggressive Fascist countries at the expense of other peace-loving nations, such as the shameful Munich agreement at the expense of Czechoslovakia.

When the Second World War broke out the Soviet Union did not have to change its policy upon entering the anti-Hitler coalition together with Great Britain and the United States. This was a natural sequence to the foreign policy the Soviet Government had been pursuing before the Second World War. The dangerous threat overhanging Europe, and not only Europe, which emanated from Fascist Germany and aggressive Japan with their lunatic plans of world supremacy and of crushing all States that opposed this, compelled the ruling circles of Great Britain and the United States to unite with the Soviet Union against the forces of aggression and Fascism. Thanks to this alliance between the U.S.S.R. and the democratic countries, the aggressive Powers were vanquished and important agreements were concluded with regard to the post-war settlement.

The Soviet Union to this day stands by these agreements, which were designed to protect the interests of democracy and to prevent new aggression. The Soviet Union legitimately demands that these agreements be carried out in practice and that

new questions which may arise in connection with this also be decided by mutual agreement among the interested Powers.

Nobody can deny the consistency of the Stalinist foreign policy of the Soviet Government, nor that it fully accords with the interests of international security. The whole point is that, since the end of the Second World War, changes have taken place in the policy of the ruling circles of the United States and Great Britain which virtually imply renunciation of the agreements concluded jointly with the U.S.S.R., aimed at the establishment of a stable democratic peace after the war, and which reflect the desire of these circles to impose their peace, an imperialist peace, upon other countries, which is incompatible with the liberating aims of the anti-Hitler coalition of the Powers.

They evidently consider that, since the danger of war has passed for them, they may ignore the old agreements with the U.S.S.R. and disregard their existence. Among the ruling circles of these countries there are many who are anxious to proceed with the realisation of their predatory plans, plans aimed at establishing the world supremacy of the Anglo-American bloc. They believe that, with the victory over Germany and Japan, the ground has been cleared for the realisation of their plans of domination over all other nations, although they cannot say so openly.

With ever-increasing noise and shrillness the press of the imperialist circles attacks our country, for it is known to all that the Soviet Union is an irreconcilable foe of imperialist predatory plans. After this it will be clear why major international agreements concluded with the participation of the Soviet Union are being violated at every step and why, for instance, the Berlin question, in spite of the agreements reached between the U.S.S.R. and the United States, Great Britain and France, still remains unsettled.

Comrade Stalin gave a profound explanation of this policy of the ruling circles of the U.S.A. and Great Britain: "The point is that the inspirers of the aggressive policy of the U.S.A. and Great Britain do not consider themselves interested in agreement and co-operation with the U.S.S.R. They want not agreement and co-operation, but talk about agreement and co-operation, in order to disrupt agreement, to throw the blame on the U.S.S.R. and, by so doing, to "prove" the impossibility of co-operation with the U.S.S.R. The instigators of war, who are striving to unleash a new war, fear more than anything else agreement and co-operation with the U.S.S.R., since a policy of agreement with the U.S.S.R. undermines the positions of the warmongers and deprives the aggressive policy of these gentlemen of its objective." Comrade Stalin defined this policy when he said that: "The policy of the present leaders of the United States and Great Britain is a policy of aggression and unleashing a new war".

From this viewpoint it is clear why new American military bases are being created in all parts of the globe, why the American authorities want to maintain their troops in so many countries and why the American military budget has been inflated this year to war-time dimensions and to eleven times the size it was, for instance, in the pre-war year of 1940. From this viewpoint it is also clear why in Washington there is being preserved to this day the Anglo-American combined Chiefs of Staff which was set up during the Second World War and which is now working on new plans of aggression in secrecy from both the American and the British peoples.

There has been a particularly great deal of talk lately about the creation of all sorts of "unions" and "blocs" of Western States, although they are not being threatened by any other States. All this fuss about the formation of "Western unions", "Atlantic unions", "Mediterranean blocs" and the like is camouflaged by defensive declarations, by which only excessively naive people can be taken in. In reality these "unions" and "blocs" have as their purpose the preparation for new aggression and the precipitation of new wars in which definite ruling groups are interested, but certainly not the peoples of the United States, Britain, or any other country. In the case of Britain and France they are at variance with the pacts of friendship and mutual assistance which those countries have with the U.S.S.R.

Comrade Stalin has also pronounced his weighty word on how the policy of the instigators of a new war is likely to end. He said:

"It can end only with the disgraceful collapse of the instigators of a new war. Churchill, the chief instigator of a new war, has already succeeded in depriving himself of the confidence of his nation and the democratic forces of the whole world. The same fate awaits all other instigators of war. The horrors of the recent war are too alive in the minds of the people, and the social forces in favour of peace are too great for Churchill's pupils in aggression to be able to overpower and deflect them towards a new war."

Comrade Stalin's statement should have a sobering effect. It shows that the anti-Soviet intrigues in which various agents of the instigators of a new war are now engaged are under the vigilant observation of the Soviet Union and the democratic forces of the whole world. Everyone knows that such things do not love the light. But the time has passed when the peoples were blind tools of one or another ruling clique. The elections in the U.S.A. on November 2 resulted in a victory for the Democratic Party and President Truman. The failure of the Republican Party and Dewey, who came forward in the elections with an openly reactionary and most aggressive programme, indicates that the majority of the American people reject this programme.

The Second World War which ended with the defeat of Fascism led to substantial changes in Europe, and not only in Europe. The weight of the strengthened Soviet Union in international affairs has been further increased. A number of people's democracies with which the U.S.S.R. is bound by ties of friendship and mutual assistance have taken the road of Socialism. The treachery of the leading nationalist group in Yugoslavia has done great damage to her people, but there can be no doubt that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, backed by its internationalist traditions, will find the way which will enable Yugoslavia to rejoin the closely-knit family which embraces the U.S.S.R. and the new democracies.

The Communist Parties in the European countries have grown in strength and numbers. The destruction of Fascism has opened broad prospects for the growth and consolidation of all the forces of the democratic and anti-imperialist camp.

The situation in Asia has likewise radically changed since the Second World War. The population of Asia comprises 1,200 million of the 2,250 million people of the globe. The peoples of Asia have now stirred into movement, in which an ever greater part is played by the forces of national liberation. Only sworn enemies of the progress of humanity can put spokes in the wheel of this national liberation movement.

Such is the onward march of history. The pillars of imperialism are steadily crumbling and becoming unreliable. At the same time the forces of democracy, peace and Socialism are growing and consolidating their forces. In this situation the imperialist forces more and more frequently base their plans on intensifying the aggressiveness of their policy, on creating an atmosphere of war hysteria and so on. These methods are well known. The noisier the war-mongering gentry become, the more they will repel the millions of common people in all countries and the sooner will they become internationally isolated. And at the same time the international camp of the supporters of peace and democracy, in the vanguard of which stands the U.S.S.R., is growing stronger and stronger and becoming a great and invincible force.

Our country is on a new upgrade. It is to be observed in the economic achievements, in the scope and character of cultural work, in the moral and political unity of the Soviet people, which has risen to a new, higher level.

The strength of the Soviet people grows from year to year. The international prestige of the U.S.S.R. and its influence in world affairs become ever stronger, confirming the correctness of the policy of our Party. And accordingly the Stalinist foreign policy is imbued with unwavering consistency and calm confidence in the morrow. We owe our achievements to the Bolshevik Party, to the guidance of Lenin and Stalin.

In the summer of 1917, in the days of military defeats and

economic dislocation, when our opponents declared that there was no political party in Russia that would consent to take all political power into its hands, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin at once retorted that there was such a Party, that "our Party does not refuse to do so: it is prepared any minute to take over full power". In that very year the Bolshevik Party, which then numbered only 240,000 members, stood at the head of the October Socialist Revolution and led our country to the triumph of people's rule, Soviet rule.

Then the Bolshevik Party brought the country out of the imperialist war, turned over the landed estates to the peasants and put down the attempts at resistance of the capitalists and landlords. Then, too, we defeated the forces of foreign intervention, which had formed a puppet "alliance of fourteen States" and which were beaten in their attempts to restore bourgeois and landlord rule in Russia.

After this the principal task of the Bolshevik Party was to repair the economic dislocation caused by the protracted Civil War. Our enemies declared: "The Bolsheviks only know how to destroy". How often did they affirm that without the landlords and capitalists the national economy could not be restored! The Party of Lenin and Stalin replied to these affirmations with the Bolshevik plan of Socialist industrialisation, with the triumphant Stalin Five-Year Plans which transformed our country.

After this, they prophesied that "the Bolsheviks will break their necks over the peasant question", that Socialist reconstruction of agriculture was impossible. Guided by Comrade Stalin, the Bolshevik Party solved this problem too, having eliminated the kulaks as a class and brought about the collectivisation of many millions of peasant farms and created unprecedented conditions for the progress of agriculture and radical improvement of the conditions of the peasantry.

As a result of these transformations we achieved a position when the alliance of workers and peasants rose to a higher level and was turned into a moral-political unity unexampled in history. In the accomplishment of these tasks the Party time and again encountered the resistance of agents of the class enemy, especially of the Trotskyites and Bukharinites. Having purified itself from them the Bolshevik Party became still stronger and rallied still closer around Comrade Stalin.

The events of the Great Patriotic War are fresh in the memories of all. Stalin headed the defence of our country and took over the direction of the country's armed forces—and the Soviet people vanquished German Fascism and its allies. It was thought that the U.S.S.R. would be impoverished and weakened, but it grew stronger than ever in the Great Patriotic War. It was expected that after the war the Soviet Union would be dependent on the leading capitalist States, but the Soviet State is continuing, as hitherto, to pursue its independent Stalinist foreign

policy, guided by the interests of the Soviet people and of international security.

The war ended. We obtained the opportunity to return to our peaceful labours. The Soviet Union is over-fulfilling its new post-war Five-Year Plan. Progress is likewise being made in the other countries which have taken the road of Socialism.

Now in ruling bourgeois circles all sorts of absurd "fears" are rife—they are scared by our achievements, they are afraid of the gathering tempo of the U.S.S.R.'s economic progress. Naturally this will not induce the Soviet people to relax their labour efforts but, on the contrary, will animate the millions of labouring people of our country, our workers, collective farmers, intellectuals, our youth, to still greater effort.

What is the foundation of our mounting successes? This question may be answered briefly. The foundation of our successes is the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, of the great Stalin, which has welded together the working class and the working peasants in their struggle for the triumph of Socialism.

There are capitalist countries where much wealth and human experience have been accumulated, and where there are natural resources and much else. But the obsolescent capitalist system itself, with its private ownership and anarchy of production and the social and political antagonisms and crises which rend it, doom these countries to instability and catastrophic slumps, to periodical shocks and revolutionary upheavals.

Different is the situation in the Soviet Union, where the Socialist system stands firmly on its feet and is the inexhaustible source of the growing strength of our State, of the Labour enthusiasm and spiritual progress of the Soviet people. In our country, both in big things and in small ones, can be seen the directing and mobilising will of the Communist Party, which recognises no insuperable obstacles.

The history of the October Revolution tested and steeled the Leninist-Stalinist leadership of our country which has won the boundless confidence and love of the Soviet people. Our people have come to occupy an honourable and historic place among the nations and have demonstrated that, led by the Communist Party and the great Stalin, they are capable of performing ever new great deeds.

Long live our Soviet country—stronghold of the friendship of our peoples and shrine of their glory!

Long live the great Bolshevik Party, the Party of Lenin and Stalin, the battle-steeled vanguard of the Soviet people, the inspirer and organiser of our victories!

Under the banner of Lenin and the leadership of Stalin, forward to the triumph of Communism!

J. V. STALIN

REPLIES TO "PRAVDA" CORRESPONDENT'S QUESTIONS ON RESULTS OF SECURITY COUNCIL DISCUSSION OF "BERLIN QUESTION"

The following questions were put to J. V. Stalin by a "Pravda" correspondent on October 28, 1948.

Question: How do you appraise the results of the discussion by the Security Council of the question on the situation in Berlin and the behaviour of the Anglo-American and French representatives in this matter?

Reply: I regard them as a manifestation of the aggressiveness of the policy of the Anglo-American and French ruling circles.

Question: Is it true that in August of this year agreement had already once been reached between the four Powers on the Berlin question?

Reply: Yes, it is true. As is known, on August 30 this year agreement was reached in Moscow between the representatives of the U.S.S.R., the United States of America, Britain and France on the simultaneous carrying out of measures for the removal of transport restrictions, on the one hand, and the introduction in Berlin of the German mark of the Soviet zone as the sole currency, on the other hand.

This agreement does not infringe upon anyone's prestige; it takes account of the interests of the parties to it and guarantees the possibility of further co-operation. But the Governments of the United States of America and Britain disavowed their representatives in Moscow and declared that this agreement was null and void, i.e., they violated it, deciding to place the question before the Security Council where the Anglo-Americans have an assured majority.

Question: Is it true that recently in Paris, when the question was being discussed in the Security Council, in unofficial talks agreement was again reached on the question of the situation in Berlin already before it was voted on in the Security Council?

Reply: Yes, it is true. The representative of Argentine, Dr. Bramuglia, the Chairman at the Security Council, who conducted unofficial talks with Mr. Vyshinsky on behalf of other interested Powers, did indeed have in hand an agreed draft for the solution of the question of the situation in

Berlin. But the representatives of the U.S.A. and Britain again declared this agreement non-existent.

Question: What is the fact of the matter? Can it not be explained?

Reply: The point is that the inspirers of the aggressive policy of the United States of America and Britain do not consider themselves interested in agreement and co-operation with the U.S.S.R. They want not agreement and co-operation but talk about agreement and co-operation, in order to disrupt agreement, to throw the blame on the U.S.S.R., and, by so doing, "prove" the impossibility of co-operation with the U.S.S.R.

The instigators of war, who are striving to unleash a new war, fear more than anything else agreement and co-operation with the U.S.S.R., since a policy of agreement with the U.S.S.R. undermines the positions of the warmongers and deprives the aggressive policy of these gentlemen of its objective. Precisely for this reason they disrupt agreements already reached, disavow their representatives who have reached such agreements with the U.S.S.R., transfer the question, in violation of the U.N. Charter, to the Security Council where they possess a guaranteed majority and where they can "prove" anything they like.

All this is done in order to demonstrate the impossibility of co-operating with the U.S.S.R., to demonstrate the necessity of a new war and thus prepare the conditions for unleashing a war. The policy of the present leaders of the United States and Britain is a policy of aggression and unleashing a new war.

Question: How do you appraise the actions of the six States in the Security Council—China, Canada, Belgium, the Argentine, Colombia and Syria?

Reply: Obviously all these gentlemen support a policy of aggression, a policy of unleashing a new war.

Question: How can this all end?

Reply: It can end only with the disgraceful collapse of the instigators of a new war. Churchill, the chief instigator of a new war, has already succeeded in depriving himself of the confidence of his nation and the democratic forces of the whole world. The same fate awaits all other instigators of war.

The horrors of the recent war are too alive in the minds of the people and the social forces in favour of peace are too great for Churchill's pupils in aggression to be able to overpower and deflect them towards a new war.

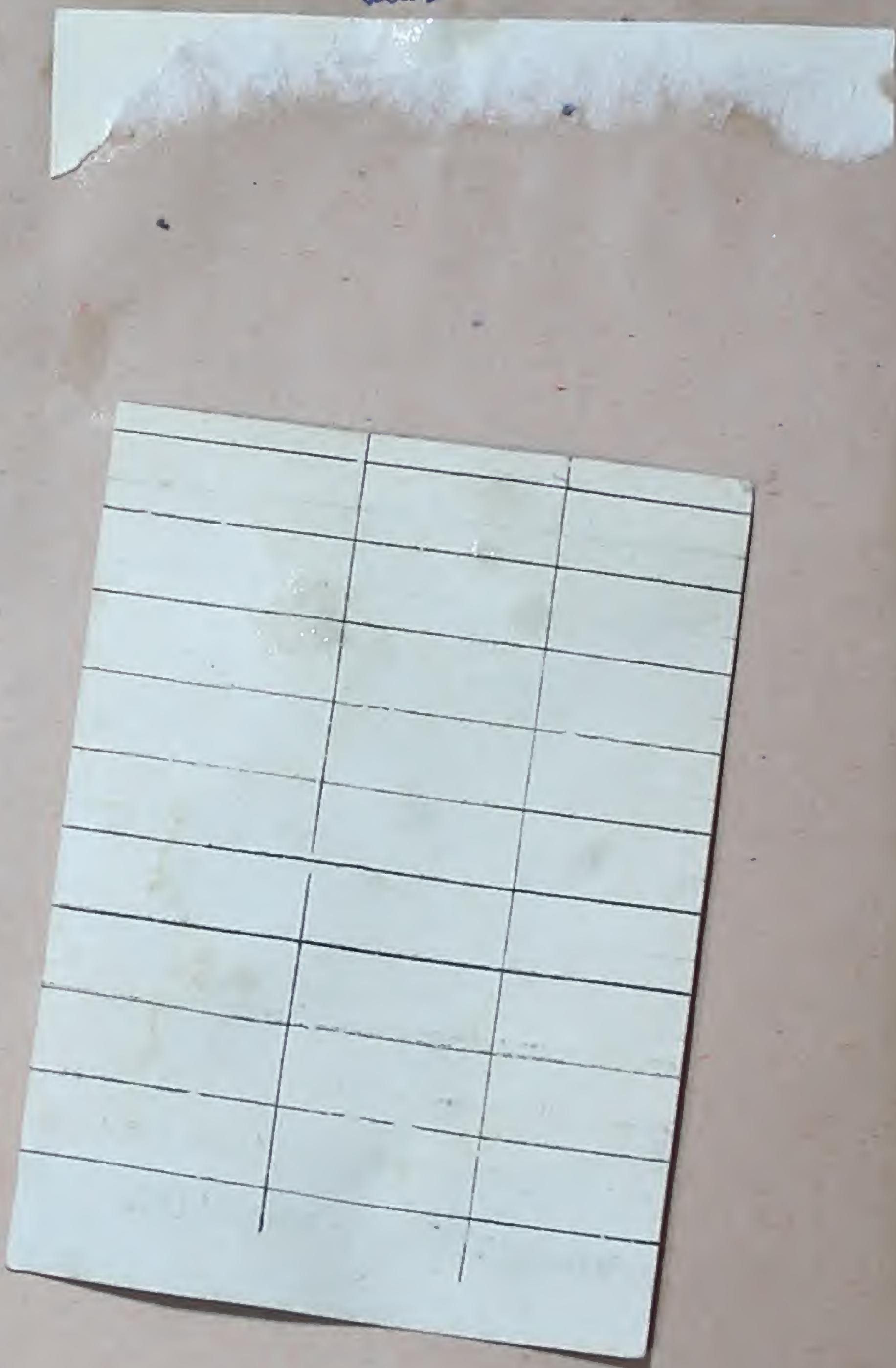


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